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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE IRISH PRESS.—That the press in Ireland is full as free as the press in England, there is, I think, but little doubt. Nevertheless, some transactions, said to have taken place in that Island, are worthy of notice, if, in the present state of things, it be worth any man's while to spend a moment of his time in reflections upon such a subject as that of the press.—From a statement in the Morning Chronicle of the 20th instant; it appears, that Mr. SAURIN, the Attorney General in Ireland, some time ago, prosecuted a Mr. MAGEE, proprietor of a news-paper in Dublin; that the unfortunate man was convicted; that he was imprisoned before judgment, bail having been refused; that, after having laid in jail for four months, waiting for his sentence, he was brought forth and sentenced; that he was then sent to another jail, but for how long a period we are not told.—Here, though the facts are, upon a bare statement of them, sufficiently terrific to those who hold unruly pens, there is nothing new; nothing which we are not in the daily habit of seeing, except with regard to the refusal of bail, and I know not precisely how far the power of the Attorney General may extend in that respect; but, I know, that the Judges, in England, have the power to commit as soon as a verdict is found, and to keep the wretched writer or printer in jail till the hour for sentencing him; for this was done in the case of Mr. Eaton.—But, what follows is entirely new to me, though I thought that I had pretty well understood all the powers of the Attorney General and the Judges with regard to the press.—We are told, that the paper, in which Mr. Magee offended, has been extinguished by a refusal to let him have stamps on paper to print upon, and that there is an act of parliament, authorizing this refusal.—The passage, which I now allude to, is as follows:—“Immediately after judgment was pronounced, Mr. Magee was served with notices from the Stamp-office, that stamps should no longer be issued to him. Of course his Paper

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“must stop—of course his Journal must be extinguished—and this act of Power, this novel, unprecedented act of power, was wielded not only against the guilty, but against an innocent Paper; for Mr. Magee being the owner of *The Herald* as well as *The Evening Post*, and the stamps being interdicted to him in person, of course both his Papers must stop publication *instantly*. No time was given, even to sell out—and Mr. Magee was compelled to transfer the property of both Papers under all the difficulty and disadvantage of an instantaneous notice. Mr. Magee appeals from this unprecedented proceeding to the press of both countries—to the opinion of the public in whose service he has suffered, and to the justice of Parliament, to which he will resort. He makes no further comment for the present—and as his suffering in this respect has been beyond example, he trusts it cannot pass observation without censure and redress. The public will perceive the strong distinction between punishing and extinguishing the Press.”—To be sure, this is an effectual way of putting a man to silence. But, it is, it seems, quite agreeably to law; and, therefore, the Morning Chronicle, which is continually boasting of the super-excellence of our laws, and of the freedom of our press, ought not to call it “a novel and unprecedented act of power.”—Mr. Magee, we are told, appeals to the opinion of the public, in whose service he has suffered. Poor man! He appeals to the justice of the Parliament, to which he will resort. Poor man! He appeals to the press of both countries. Alas! Poor man! To the press! and to what press? To the person, amongst others, to whom he has transferred his two papers! Does he expect, that that person, unless he be gifted with wings, will attempt to censure the conduct of his prosecutor or of his punishers? Paltry, then, is it for any one to hold out to his readers, that this unfortunate man, has any hope of meeting with defenders in those who conduct the press in either country.—“The public,” we are

told, "will perceive the *strong distinction* "between *punishing* and *extinguishing* the "*press*."—If the *public* perceive, at this time, any thing at all about the matter, I am very much deceived. Supposing the public, however, to give, by accident, a glance at Mr. Magee at the bottom of his prison; supposing them to turn their eyes, for a moment, towards the iron bars which secure his residence, they will be more sharp-sighted than I am, if they do "*perceive the strong distinction* between *punishing* and *extinguishing* the *press*." For my part, I think, that the Irish Attorney General, in enforcing the *law*, upon this occasion, has acted a friendly part towards the miserable object of his prosecutions; for, he has now, at any rate, put him into a situation where he can no more offend in the same way; and, if the poor creature should survive his imprisonment, he may still be *free* to solicit the alms of charitable and compassionate souls.—

The state of the *Stage*, which, as we have recently seen, is under the immediate and absolute control of an agent of the Government, who permits or interdicts at his sole pleasure, appears to me to be preferable to that of the *Press*; and I am sincerely of opinion, that, with a Licensor of the press, the latter would, in fact, be *freer* than it now is. Because, in that case, every writer, being *quite sure of impunity* for any thing that he might write and submit to the Licensor, would never *write in fear*; and, I dare say, that, in numerous cases, a Licensor would suffer to pass much of what is now suppressed by the fear, under which every one must write, who is exposed to such dreadful punishments.—BLACKSTONE, though a very able hand at drawing distinctions, has failed in this particular. He says, that our press is *free*; "that is to say," says he, "it is subject to *no previous licenser*; every man may write and publish *what he pleases*; but, then, he must be *responsible* for so doing."—

I am quite *free* to trespass upon my neighbour's land; and, if he be weaker than I, I may, if I *please*, knock him down into the bargain. But, then, I am *responsible* for these acts, and am liable to be punished for them in my purse and in my person.

—Therefore, properly speaking, I am *not free* to do these things; I may *not do them if I please*.—BLACKSTONE, who, in most other cases, is very fond of showing how *wise* men are under the guidance of the *law*, here, point out how clearly men's rights are defined, cuts the mat-

ter short with regard to the press, and merely says what I have related above.

—I am free, quite free, to eat and drink and sleep; I am quite free to walk along the high-way; I am quite free to whistle; I am quite free to buy or sell, the money or property being my own, and provided I pay the tax imposed on the sale or purchase by the government. I am free to do these things, because there is no one who can *punish* me for doing them. But, the same cannot be said of writing or publishing, because those are acts for which a man may be punished; and, because there are *no laws* to point out *what I may* and *what I may not* write or publish without exposing myself to punishment.—If there were *boundaries*; if there were land-marks to guide the writer: if the law told him, that he must keep himself within the bounds of *truth*; that he must not pass that boundary without incurring punishment: if he were told, that he must not censure any man in power; that he must find fault of no act of the government; that he must never censure any foreign potentate, unless we were at war with him; and so on. The writer would then know what he was about; and he would, as far as the law permitted him to go, be *free* to write. But, while there is no boundary; while all is left to the opinions and the taste of others, can any man be said to be *free* to write?—Besides, there is the *power of prosecution*, lodged absolutely in the breast of one man, appointed by the Crown, and removable from his office at any moment when the Crown pleases.—This man, the Attorney General, can prosecute any writer for *any thing*. He has nothing to control him but his own discretion. It matters not what the writing be, he can, if he pleases, without consulting any one, prosecute any writer, or any printer, or any publisher, for any thing.—He is not limited as to *time*. He may, if he please, go twenty or eighty years back and prosecute a man for what he *then* wrote or published; so that he, who has once written or published, is, for his whole life time, liable to prosecution for having so done. If Hume, for instance, were now alive, he might, if the Attorney General pleased, be prosecuted for the essays, which he wrote 50 or 60 years ago; and so may any of the Booksellers, who now publish his works.—When the prosecution has been commenced; when a writer or publisher has been charged with a criminal act; when it has become notorious that he stands accused in the



courts as a criminal: when this has been done, the Attorney General may, if he please, suspend any further proceeding for one, two, three, or any number of years. Thurlow did not bring Mr. Horne Tooke to trial till about *two years* after he commenced the prosecution against him.—On the other hand, the Attorney General has the power of *withdrawing the charge*, of putting *an end* to it, at his pleasure. There is no one to call him to account. He may charge and discharge at his sole will and pleasure.—He may bring to trial and the accused may be convicted; and, even after that he may drop the matter if he pleases. He may call the poor wretch up for judgment at once if he pleases, at the very next term; he may let him remain undecided upon for any number of years; and may, at last, call him up; or, he may never call him up at all.—The laws, passed during this reign, renders it impossible for the author of any work to escape exposure. Every printer or publisher is now compelled to keep one copy of every thing that he publishes, with his name written upon it, and is bound, if called upon by the Attorney General, to declare who the author is, or, at least, by whose authority he has printed it or published it. The proprietors of news-papers are compelled to deposit with the Stamp Commissioners an *affidavit* of their *names* and *places of abode*, as are also their printers and publishers. No press can send out any thing privately, for no man must have a press and types without a previous declaration and enregistrement. All the printing presses are now enregistered; and nothing, even a ballad, can be published without bearing the printer's name, under a terrible penalty in case of disobedience of the law.—If the author of a news-paper remove his residence from one Street to another, or even from one door to another, he is compelled to go to the Stamp Office and give information of, and even swear to, the fact.—I will now leave the reader to judge, whether the *punishment* or the *extinguishment* of the press is best for the cause of truth and justice.

DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED POWERS.

—This Declaration, which was issued at Frankfort on the 1st instant, and which is, perhaps, the most important Document that ever was issued in Europe, merits the serious attention of every man who feels the least interest in the welfare of the country.—After inserting it, I shall make on it such

remarks as appear to me likely to be useful.—“The French Government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. “The motives of the *Senatus Consultum* to that effect contain an appeal to the Allied Powers. They, therefore, find themselves called upon to promulgate anew, “in the face of the world, the views “which guide them in the present war; “the principles which form the basis of “their conduct, their wishes, and their “determinations.—The Allied Powers “do not make war upon France, but “against that preponderance, haughtily “announced,—against that preponderance “which, to the misfortune of Europe, and “of France, the Emperor Napoleon has “too long exercised beyond the limits of “his empire.—Victory has conducted “the Allied Armies to the banks of the “Rhine. The first use which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have made of “victory, has been to offer peace to his Majesty the Emperor of the French. “An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the Sovereigns and Princes of “Germany, has had no influence on the “conditions of that peace. These conditions are founded on the independence “of the French empire, as well as on the “independence of the other States of Europe. The views of the Powers are just in “their object, generous and liberal in “their application, giving security to all, “honourable to each.—The Allied Sovereigns desire that France may be great, “powerful, and happy; because the French “power, in a state of greatness and “strength, is one of the foundations of the “social edifice of Europe. They wish “that France may be happy,—that French “commerce may revive,—that the arts, “those blessings of peace, may again flourish; because a great people can only be “tranquil in proportion as it is happy. “The Powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France “under her Kings never knew; because a “valiant nation does not fall from its “rank, by having in its turn experienced “reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary “contest, in which it has fought with its “accustomed bravery.—But the Allied Powers also wish to be free, tranquil, “and happy, themselves. They desire a “state of peace which, by a wise partition “of strength, by a just equilibrium, may “henceforward preserve their people from “the numberless calamities which have “overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty

“ years.—The Allied Powers will not
 “ lay down their arms, until they have
 “ attained this great and beneficial result,
 “ this noble object of their efforts. They
 “ will not lay down their arms, until the
 “ political state of Europe be re-established
 “ anew,—until immovable principles have
 “ resumed their rights over vain preten-
 “ sions—until the sanctity of treaties shall
 “ have at last secured a real peace to
 “ Europe.”—Thus, we see, then, that
 the Allies are willing to acknowledge Na-
 poleon as Emperor of France; that they
 are willing to confirm to France all the
 means of being a great nation; that they
 are ready to leave an extent of territory,
 which France, under her *kings*, never
 knew; that they wish to see her com-
 merce revive, and that they have no wish
 to do any thing that shall be humiliating
 to her, while they are resolved them-
 selves to be independent and secure.—
 It would seem, from this, that *wise* men
 have, at last, got at the ears of the Allied
 Sovereigns; that the madness of Anti-
 jacobinism is banished from their councils;
 and that they are really desirous of obtain-
 ing and securing honourable peace.—
 This State-Paper is the very best that I ever
 read. Concise, clear and modest. It is
 paying it a very high compliment to say,
 that it is, in all respects, the very reverse of
 the Declaration which preceded the Duke of
 Brunswick, in 1792; but, it merits, fully
 merits, that compliment.—That such a
 paper, though coming from our own allies,
 should excite the rage of the war-loving
 tribe who conduct our press, is perfectly
 natural; and, accordingly, they, who re-
 commended to the allies, the cry of “*Buo-*
 “*naparte and War: the Bourbons and*
 “*Peace,*” have fallen upon it with the
 utmost fury. They here see, that the
 Bourbons are left out of view; that the
 allies speak of “*His Majesty the Emperor*
 “*of the French;*” and that they have no
 idea of “clipping the wings of France for
 “ever;” nay, that they express a wish to
 see the *commerce*, and, of course, the *navy*
 of France, revive.—This was too much
 to be borne by men, who had been assert-
 ing, in the most positive manner, that *no*
peace could be made with Napoleon, and
 who foolishly imagined, that the allies, who
 had been fighting to prevent one single
 power from being mistress of the *land*,
 would take effectual measures for making
 another single power mistress of the *sea* for
 ever.—English arrogance has made it
 habitual for us to look upon all the other

powers of Europe as existing merely for
 our use and benefit. It is not, therefore,
 very surprising for us to meet with a com-
 mentary like the following (in the *Courier*
 news-paper) upon this most admirable
 Declaration of the Allied Powers.—
 “The State-Paper, purporting to be the
 “declaration of the Allied Powers (we can
 “hardly believe to be genuine) finds its
 “chief panegyrists among the Opposition,
 “the Whigs, the Old Whigs, as they call
 “themselves. They tell us the policy of
 “this Declaration is the policy which the
 “Whigs of England have so strenuously
 “recommended. They are in the right,
 “for their policy has always been to re-
 “commend peace with Buonaparte almost
 “upon any terms. This Declaration con-
 “sents to make peace with the ‘French
 “Emperor,’ leaving him in possession ‘of
 “an extent of territory which France never
 “knew,’ that is, *of the means and resources*
 “*of the finest part of Europe, and a popu-*
 “*lation of above thirty millions:* and the
 “Party are quite satisfied. The allies have
 “no intention of touching the ‘Head of the
 “Fourth Dynasty, the most consummate
 “captain of the age’—the object of the
 “warm and frequent panegyrics of the
 “Whigs, and all their apprehensions are
 “removed.—These paragraphs of the
 “Whigs are censure in disguise. *Timeo*
 “*Danaos et dona ferentes.* Wherever we
 “find the Whigs praising any measure,
 “our first impulse is to suspect that it is
 “neither patriotic nor wise. For what
 “policy have they ever pursued or con-
 “sulted that has not been in direct oppo-
 “sition to every measure and every prin-
 “ciple that have at length placed the
 “Allies in this commanding position? *If*
 “*war be the element in which we desire to*
 “*live, we are likely to have our wishes*
 “*fully accomplished.* For if Buonaparte
 “accept this Declaration, it will be impos-
 “sible for us to disarm; for who can ex-
 “pect peace to be permanent? Do we
 “think, that because he has been beaten,
 “he is tamed? that disasters have changed
 “his nature, and inspired him with the
 “desire and love of peace? That he will
 “put aside at once, that ‘study of revenger
 “immortal hate?’—No, no, the very pen
 “with which he signs such a Treaty of
 “Peace, will the next moment subscribe
 “some order, some decree that shall lay
 “the foundation for future war. But it is
 “asked, and with a strange tergiversation
 “of principle, by some of those who were
 “the loudest for making no peace with him,

“ ‘how is it possible for France, confined
 “ within moderate bounds, and under the
 “ destructive sway of a Buonaparte, ever to
 “ acquire greatness or strength?’ In the
 “ first place, do they call ‘an extent of
 “ territory which France under her kings
 “ never knew,’ confining France within
 “ moderate bounds? *All the evils which*
 “ *have cursed the world for the last twenty*
 “ *years came from France, with no larger*
 “ *extent of territory at first than old France.*
 “ Yet, forsooth, with additional dominions,
 “ she is to be quite harmless—quite ‘con-
 “ fined within moderate bounds!’ And
 “ Buonaparte, with such an empire and
 “ population, is to be perfectly innocent
 “ and innocuous. The panegyrists of this
 “ *unwise Declaration* have made this
 “ notable discovery, that it is better to
 “ leave Buonaparte Emperor of the French,
 “ because his sway is likely to be destruc-
 “ tive to France. He is ‘the Simoom of
 “ the desert,’ and will therefore be ‘fatal
 “ to the vegetation’ of the country. Oh,
 “ curious policy and *cunning Allies!* But
 “ if this be their meaning, how do they
 “ reconcile it with their Declaration, that
 “ they “wish France may be happy, that
 “ French commerce may revive, that the
 “ arts, those blessings of peace, may again
 “ flourish.’ Let them beware, that the
 “ ‘Simoom of the desert’ does not carry
 “ its blasting influence again among them.
 “ It will carry it if this Declaration be
 “ acted upon. In whatever light we view
 “ it, it has *nothing cheering, nothing noble,*
 “ *nothing grand* in it. It cannot lead to
 “ *safety or honor*, and no Peace made
 “ under it is likely to be real or perma-
 “ nent.”—No. These men are for eter-
 “ nal war, unless France, “the *finest part of*
 “ *Europe,*” be destroyed! What presump-
 “ tion! What *insolence!*—The Allies are
 “ here called *unwise*; by way of mockery,
 “ they are called *cunning*; and it is asserted,
 “ that there is *nothing cheering, noble, or*
 “ *grand*, in their conduct.—We may be
 “ sure, that there are *others* who think so
 “ besides the miserable tool who puts this
 “ trash upon paper, and who thus raises his
 “ puny and spiteful voice against the lan-
 “ guage of moderation, dignity, and peace.
 “—What would we have *more* than this
 “ Declaration stipulates for? It says, that the
 “ Allies will not lay down their arms, till
 “ the independence of all the nations of
 “ Europe be settled on a solid basis. But, this
 “ does not suit the furious Antijacobins. They
 “ would destroy France; they would reduce her
 “ to be of no weight in the scale of nations.

At any rate, they would destroy Napo-
 leon. They here avow the principle, that
 no peace is to be made by us, that shall
 leave him any thing like *power*. They are
 quite prepared to fall upon the Allies with
 all manner of abuse, unless they will keep
 on fighting until France is so reduced as to
 be unable ever hereafter to give *us* any
 alarm.—These impudent men forget,
 apparently, that *we* made a peace with
 Napoleon, leaving him in possession of
 almost all that he *now* possesses;—aye, and
 we received at *his* hands the island of *Cey-*
lon, belonging to our friends, the Dutch;
 and that of *Trinidad*, belonging to our
 friends, the Spaniards.—Who has for-
 gotten the rejoicings which that peace oc-
 casioned? I saw, at the Lord Mayor’s
 Feast, the Tricolored Flag of France en-
 twined with that of England, hanging over
 the magistrate’s chair. We boasted of the
 friendship of Napoleon; and we heard the
 very same writers, who are now calling for
 vengeance on France, proclaiming, that *the*
two great nations would keep the rest of the
 world to its good behaviour.—There is a
 madman, who writes in the *Times*, who
 expresses his wish that France could be
 completely *conquered*. That, he says, is
 the only way of making *us* quite safe.
 But, if that be impracticable, *at this mo-*
ment, he is for reducing her to a state of
 perfect imbecility, which, he says, is abso-
 lutely necessary to *our* welfare.—How
 this raving wretch must be comforted
 by the Declaration of the Allies! A
 cell and a straight-waistcoat ought to
 be prepared for him without loss of
 time.—This maniac tells his readers,
 that, ever since the *unfortunate* Battle of
 Hastings, France has been the *curse* of
 England. The madman forgot, that it
 was that battle, which gave us our present
 almost-adored line of sovereigns. *George*
III. traces his descent from *William the*
Conqueror. This being an undoubted fact,
 the madman might, I think, have looked
 upon the Battle of Hastings as *fortunate*.
 France, at any rate, gave us a race of
 kings; and, jostle and shuffle and wriggle
 and twist as long as we will about the mat-
 ter, we are now under the sway of the de-
 scendants of *the Conqueror of our Country*,
 that Conqueror being a *Frenchman!*—
 “All the evils,” we are now told, which
 “have cursed the world for the last twen-
 “ty years, came from France, with no
 “larger extent of territory at first than old
 “France.”—If *evils* they have been,
 (and that is a question), did they come

from France, or, from those, who chose to dictate to her as to her internal government? Who *began* that war? Not the French, certainly. War was made upon them, and their country was actually invaded, for the openly-avowed purpose of compelling them to relinquish their design of changing the nature of their government; and, because they repelled the invaders, and afterwards punished them, France is to be accused of all the sufferings which the contest has occasioned; and (oh! impudence unparalleled!) France is to be reduced to a species of petty principality, lest, in any case, she should disturb the world again!—The truth is, however, that the allies see the matter in a very different light. They do not wish to see England wholly without a rival. They do not wish to see her freed from the awe, which a powerful neighbour is able to excite.—We are continually smelling after the *fleets*. We seem to see nothing but the fleets in the Texel and at Antwerp. We are all impatient to see them *destroyed*. We predict, that they will be *set fire to*. And, do we imagine, that the Allies are such fools as not to perceive our drift? Do we imagine, that all the powers of the Baltic wish to see the sea wholly at our mercy for 40 years to come? If France be deprived of her fair share of power, there will be nothing to keep us in check, unless, indeed, it be the weight of our enormous Debts and Taxes.—It is the interest, not only of the people, but of the governments, of the Continent, to have peace. It is not so clearly the interest of the present system in this country, unless France could be first almost annihilated. Because France, relieved from her debts, having none but her current expenses to support, giving toleration to all religions, and having abolished the heaviest clogs upon agriculture, must present an object, which an English eye will look at with envy; and, what is more, if a few years of experience should show, that property and persons are secure in France, that country, between which and this the intercourse will be free, will inevitably become the receptacle of many English people of fortunes too small to support the load of taxes which will here be to be paid. At present, and of late, this island has been the depot of all the moveable wealth of the Continent, and it has engrossed all the profits of trade. Peace; and especially such a peace as is contemplated in the Declaration of the Allies, will produce wonderful changes in these re-

spects. It will send thousands of capitalists out of the country; it will send their wealth away along with them; and, of course, it will diminish our means of paying the heavy taxes which must, in any case, continue to be raised as long as the national debt shall exist.—The war has been enormously expensive; but, it has, at the same time, created enormous means. On the ground that all the sea coast of Europe was under the influence of France, we have shut up all that coast, leaving no free trade in Europe. That ground would, at once, be removed by peace. The several maritime States would pour forth their vessels, and vessels, too, built and navigated cheaper than ours.—The effect would be nearly the same, whether we agreed to the peace or chose to continue the war, unless we were to make war against all Europe in a mass.—Peace, therefore, is, to our system of things, less evidently a good than it is to the Powers in alliance with us against France. It is not so manifest that our importance in the scale of nations would be augmented by peace, or, indeed, that it would be supported at its present height. When the terms of a peace came to be discussed, we should have to give up a great deal; for, it never would be endured, that we, who have called upon all the world to make war against the grasping ambition of France, should keep all that we have, by any means, been able to lay hold of.—This is a view of the matter, which the flaming Anti-jacobins seem never to take. They seem never to glance this way. They seem to look upon all the other Allies as being made for our sole use, and as fighting for no other purpose, than that of enabling us to domineer over all the other maritime powers.—It is to be observed, that the *ministers*, though they had no scruple to say, that the *Declaration, dated at Frankfort*, was authentic, did not say, that it was *issued with their knowledge*, or, that it had *their approbation*. There is, therefore, some reason to suppose, that they do not approve of it, especially if we give any weight to the language of their most strenuous supporters. If, however, they do not approve of it, they will, as yet, at any rate, take care not to make known their disapprobation in a very decided tone; for, if they were to do that, a separate peace would, in all human probability, be the consequence, leaving us in a much worse situation, than we were before any of the successes of the allies took place. Yet, the Declaration must be

very grating to them in some particulars. It expresses a desire to see the *commerce* of France revive; it expresses a readiness to leave France a greater extent of territory than she ever knew under her kings; and, of course, it expresses a readiness to make to us a most formidable rival in commerce and marine power. Look then, at this rival, possessing the finest part of Europe, with a population of thirty millions of the most active people in the world, more closely than ever connected with the formidable maritime and commercial nation on the other side of the Atlantic; look at her in this state, and you will not be surprised if our ministers begin to *dread* the *possible consequences* of the late successes. —At a peace, the question upon which we are at issue with America, must be discussed. The rights of nations upon the seas, are of as much consequence, as those upon the land. The other maritime states will, in all likelihood, be on the side of America, their own rights being involved in hers, and each of them entertaining the hope of becoming a neutral state, and of profiting by the rights of neutrality. —The commerce with America, which will be more divided than before, is of great importance to all the maritime states, whose opinions upon the subject we shall be less than we have been, in a situation to treat with contempt. While France had so much power; while all these states were in bodily fear of her, they were compelled to yield to us any point that we insisted on. The case will be different now. Each of them will feel itself stronger, and will be no more inclined, to yield the sea to our absolute command, than they have been to yield up the absolute command of the continent. —France, in a state of peace, will be enabled to confer enormous *commercial advantages*. Her population, her produce, her means of purchase and of consumption, will make her friendship of the utmost consequence to every maritime state. The intercourse between her and America alone, upon a free sea, must produce the most important results; and, the advance which every sort of manufactory will have made in America during these years of separation from us, will make the latter a rival in that respect, as well as in a fighting marine, especially when we consider the advantages which an absence of pauperism and of taxation, present to emigrating manufacturers. —I grant, that all these considerations are sufficient to make a minister of England hesitate upon the subject of a

peace, which would leave France with great power and with the fair prospect of prosperity. But yet, as she cannot be *destroyed*, and as the allies are ready to leave her great and prosperous, what are we to do? Why, the wise way is, to agree to the proposition, and content ourselves with the hope of being able to keep pace with her in a race of commerce and the arts. —There are men, for I have talked with such, who really say, that *war is now our element*; that our debt, our taxes, our currency, our State maxims and influence; that all these have been wound up to a war height, and that they cannot subsist in peace; that fleet, army, military schools, &c. &c. &c. must all be kept up, or, that the whole system will go to atoms. It is, however, comfortable to reflect, that the ministers have not adopted this terrible notion; for, if they had, they would not have been so zealous in pushing on the war against Napoleon. —I remember hearing a staunch Anti-Jacobin say, more than three years ago: “Yes, yes; a war for the *deliverance of Europe* is very good; but, “if Europe be delivered and France not “annihilated, *we are undone*.” This really seems to be the opinion of the writers, on whose labours I have been commenting. Now that the means of peace, *real peace*, approach us, they seem alarmed. They seem not to have been prepared for any such event. Like the old lady, who, after whining over a long list of killed and wounded in Spain, and inveighing against Buonaparté, as the cause of all this bloodshed, upon being desired to comfort herself with the hope of peace, exclaimed, “Peace! how do you think, then, that “my three poor sons are to live upon half “pay!” They were captains, or lieutenants, probably; and the affectionate mother wished, without doubt, to see them Generals or Colonels. —Ah! this *deliverance of Europe*, which the City of Edinburgh, in their address to the Regent, attributes to Divine Providence, will cause many a man and many a family in England to entertain thoughts which never before came into their heads. —For these reasons, and others that could be mentioned, it is, that the Declaration of the Allies, though dictated by the soundest policy, is, perhaps, in England, the most unpopular Document that ever was published. There are so many hundreds of thousands who *live by the war*; and, who, if peace were made, must be so a loss how to live in so easy a manner, that

he who starts obstacles to peace will not want for applauding hearers.—In speaking of this Declaration, we should always bear in mind, that it is not *we*, but the *continental powers* who have gained the recent victories. If Holland be free, it is to be attributed *to them*. They ran a great risk; we were exposed to *no risk at all*. We were snug behind the sea, while their very capitals were exposed to destruction. This being the case, they had a right to offer terms of peace; they, whom we professed to wish to see *delivered*, had, surely, a right to declare what was the extent of the deliverance that they wanted. It is not for *us* to complain that *they* are not sufficiently *safe*. We always were talking about our *disinterested views*. We wanted nothing *for ourselves*, no, not *we*. That was not in our nature. What we wanted was, the *deliverance of Europe*. But, now, behold, when Europe is delivered, and the Powers of Europe Declare what will satisfy them, we start up and say: Aye; but that does not satisfy *us*!—It is useless to continue the subject further at present. A short time will show what the real views of the several Governments are, and we shall then have something more authentic whereon to comment.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 23d Dec. 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Tuesday, Oct. 22, 1813.

Foreign Office, Oct. 22, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received from Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Charles William Stewart, K. B. and from Edward Thornton, Esq.

Toplitz, Oct. 1, 1813.

My Lord,—The affair I mentioned in my dispatch, of the 29th ult. near Altenburg, has turned out to be of more importance than was at first imagined, and the Hetman Platow, with his usual ability and gallantry, has accomplished a very brilliant exploit against a considerable body of the enemy.

—This corps was under the orders of General Lefebvre Denouette, and consisted of some French light cavalry, the Polish uh-lans of the guard, and a brigade of light dragoons, under the orders of General Pirot. Generals Keiseiski and Kruteck were also in command. The force consisted of eight

thousand cavalry and seven hundred infantry, one squadron of Mamelukes, and a small party of the Tartars of the guard, under the orders of Colonel Murot. The whole were attacked by Platow, and completely put to the rout.—General Keiseiski is reported by the prisoners to have been killed. Fifteen hundred prisoners, five guns, and forty officers (three of the staff), are the fruits of this victory.—The army has broken up from hence, and is in movement to the left. The corps of General Count Wittgenstein was yesterday at Kominatau, and that of General Kleist near Brux.—The Austrians are marching upon Chemnitz. There is a report from the enemy that Napoleon, attended by the King of Saxony and family, set out for Leipsig upon the 28th ult.; the headquarters are said to be removed there.—The French corps, under Marshal Augereau, have marched from Bamberg to Coburg, having left in a considerable force at Wurzburg.—I have reason to believe the Russian and Prussian army exceed eighty thousand men, which will now be assembled on the Chemnitz and Freyberg line; to these may be added the corps of Kleinau of ten thousand men, together with all the Austrians.—General Bennigsen's corps, which has been reviewed this day, is in a very efficient state as to appearance; but I have no exact information as to the numbers arriving.—A reinforcement of seven thousand men of the Prussian corps of General Kleist is upon the road from Prague. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. STEWART, Lieut.-Gen.
Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

Zerbst, Oct. 4, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that General Pozzo di Borgo has received intelligence from the headquarters of the armies in Bohemia, under date of the 24th ultimo, stating that the corps of General Bennigsen having joined the Grand Army, the Allied Sovereigns had come to the resolution of making a movement by their left from Bohemia, and that this movement should be executed on the 1st of the present month.—This intelligence determined the Prince Royal to attempt the passage of the Elbe. The bridge at Ross-lau had been already completed, while the works of the *tele-de-pont* on the left had been traced out, and were in a state of progress. Detachments of Swedish troops were in possession of Dessau, and the town

(To be continued.)

FRENCH DOCUMENTS.

(Continued from page 800.)

wards a continental peace, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French having manifested an intention of accepting the said mediation, has thought proper to confirm the said acceptation by a Convention: in consequence whereof, their said Majesties have nominated as their Plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, M. Hugues Bernerd, Count Maret, Duke of Bassano, &c. &c.; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, M. the Count Clement Wenceslaus, of Metternich, Wirteburg, Ochsenhausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c. &c. his Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed on the following articles:—Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria offers his mediation towards a general or continental peace.—2. His Majesty the Emperor of the French accepts of the said mediation.—3. The French, Russian, and Prussian Plenipotentiaries shall meet in the city of Prague before the 5th of July.—4. Considering the insufficiency of the time remaining to run till the 20th July, being the term fixed for the expiration of the armistice, by the convention signed at Plaiswitz, on the 4th June, his Majesty the Emperor of the French engaged not to denounce the said armistice before the 10th August, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria reserves to himself to obtain the concurrence of Russia and Prussia to the same engagement.—5. The present convention shall not be made public.—It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Dresden within the term of four days.—Done and signed at Dresden, June 30, 1813.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO, (L.S.)

The Count of METTERNICH, (L.S.)

No. XX.—*Copy of a Letter from Count de Metternich to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Gitsenen, July 3, 1813.

MONSIEUR THE DUKE.—I shall send to M. the Count de Bubna, two letters written by his Imperial and Royal Austrian Majesty, in his own hand writing; the one of which is in reply to that of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, bearing date 10th June, and the other carries the ratification of the Convention of the 10th.—This officer will address himself to your Excellency for the presentation of the said letters, and for forwarding them to their

high destination, according as your Excellency may find it most convenient.—His Majesty makes it a pleasure to accede to the Emperor's desire relative to the place of negotiation, and he has immediately given orders for having every thing prepared at Prague for the reception of the negotiators. New dispositions requiring always several days, the meeting can scarcely take place before the 8th of the month. I have hastened to apprise you, therefore, of this circumstance, in order that the simultaneous arrival of the negotiators may take place in the course of the 8th July. I address the same information to the ministers of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and to those of his Majesty the King of Prussia.—I pray your Excellency to accept, &c.

(Signed)

METTERNICH.

No. XXI.—*Copy of a Letter from Count de Metternich to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.* Brandeis, July 8, 1813.

By my letter of the 3d of this month, I had the honour of informing your Excellency of the invitation which we address to the Ministers of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and to those of his Majesty the King of Prussia, for the meeting of the respective Negotiators at Prague; the replies of Count Nesselrode, Secretary of State, and of the Chancellor Baron Hardenberg, dated the 6th, have been received here this morning by Couriers. They both state, that the term of *eight* days, which we had proposed, being too near, for this interval to suffice for the time requisite for the preparations and instructions, and for the journey, the Russian and Prussian Negotiators will, without fail, repair to Prague in the course of the twelfth. I presume, after what your Excellency has done me the honour to tell me, that this enlargement of the time of meeting will be equally convenient to you. The arrangements on our side are ready for the convenient reception of the Negotiators, at the place of their meeting.—Accepted, &c.

(Signed)

METTERNICH.

No. XXII.—*Extract from a Letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Count de Metternich.*

Dresden, July 9, 1813.

The Count de Narbonne had just set out to repair to you, in order to obtain intelligence concerning the nomination of the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries, the opening of the negotiations, and the prolongation of the armistice, when Count de

Bubna transmitted me the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to transmit to me yesterday.—Our Plenipotentiaries will, without difficulty, be at Prague on the 12th, though those of Russia are not known to us.—That matter is of little importance, but it is not the same with what regards the prolongation of the Armistice. It is indispensable that we should know to what we are to hold ourselves, and we expect with impatience the return of the courier charged with that letter.—His Majesty had thought that, agreeable to the 4th article, of the Convention of the 30th June, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria had reserved to cause Russia and Prussia to agree to the engagement which we had taken; you will charge yourself with this object, and make yourself acquainted with the arrangements adopted. The prolongation of the Armistice ought to have been published in the towns and to the army. I beg your Excellency will inform me what you have done, and what you have learnt on this subject. On our part, the Prince of Neufchatel writes to our Commissioners at Neumarkt, the letter which I am about to communicate to Count Bubna.—We should have taken this step immediately, if we had not believed that you were charged to do it. Having undertaken it, it is of importance to us to know whether our enemies have done so likewise. If they have not, and if they should refuse to take the same engagement with us, the position which we should have wished to clear up will find itself again embarrassed. His Majesty has cause to regret that you have not been more explicit, if from thence a fresh loss of time should ensue.—The Emperor desires that Count de Narbonne should remain at Prague, or go to Brandeis, if his Majesty the Emperor of Austria would be inclined to permit him to be at the same place with himself. His Majesty wishes, in order to accelerate the business, that his Ambassador should be in readiness to receive the communications which you may wish to make to him.

(Signed) The Duke de Bassano.

No. XXIII.—*Copy of a Letter from the Count de Metternich to the Count de Bubna. Prague, July 12, 1813.*

At the moment that I was going to send off the present courier, I received the note which the Duke de Bassano addressed to me on the 9th July.—That I may not detain the present Messenger, I reserve

having the honour of answering him officially till to-morrow. I request you, however, to inform him particularly, that, according to a courier who arrived to me last night, from Reichenbach, the Courts of Russia and Prussia have officially recognized the term of the 10th August next as the term of the negotiation, and that they do not on their part denounce the Armistice before that time. It is evident, that to treat for a prolongation of the Armistice, according to military forms, belongs to the Commission at Neumarkt.—I have with pleasure observed, by what the Duke of Bassano has informed me, that orders have already been transmitted to the French Commissioners to communicate with the Commissioners of the enemy. I beg you to discharge this Commission immediately, in conjunction with the Duke of Bassano; and to receive the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

No. XXIV.—*Copy of a Letter from the Count de Metternich to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Prague, July 12, 1813.

The Count de Narbonne yesterday transmitted me the letter, which you did me the honour of addressing to me on the 9th instant. Occupied in expediting a Courier to the Count de Bubna, I have charged that General to inform your Excellency, that we have just been officially informed by the Courts of Russia and Prussia, that they have admitted the 10th August as the term of the negotiation.—The Privy Counsellor d'Anstredt arrived here this morning, as has likewise Baron d'Humbolt this afternoon. It is with regret that we still find ourselves deprived of the presence of the person charged by his Majesty the Emperor of the French to assist in the negotiations, and I flatter myself with his arriving very shortly.—The Emperor being at Brandeis in the strictest incognito, the abode of the Diplomatic Corps at this place, which offers no other convenience than the Castle, occupied by his Imperial Majesty, cannot take place. We shall be much gratified in retaining the Count de Narbonne here, and I shall be careful to continue with him the most intimate connexion.—I beg you, &c.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

No. XXV.—*Copy of a Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Count de Metternich. Dresden, July 16, 1813.*

I have received the letter which your

Excellency did me the honour to transmit to me on the 12th instant. I had proposed to myself to answer it yesterday, but dispatches just arrived to us from Neumarkt, and which I hastened to communicate to Count de Bubna, caused me to defer it till to day. Fresh letters from the same Commissioners arrived at that instant, announcing to us, that Messrs. de Schouwaloff and Kreusemarck have received from the General-in-Chief of the Combined Armies the necessary powers for concluding the convention relative to the prolongation of the armistice, it is therefore probable that this important business may be terminated tomorrow.—His Majesty having learnt, that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria would have found it agreeable that the conduct of Russia in the nomination of her Plenipotentiary should not be imitated by us, and knowing, besides, according to what you did me the honour to write me on the 8th, that the proposal of nominating the Duke of Vicence had been agreed to by your august Master, it would the more operate in fixing the Emperor's choice; I shall this evening present for his signature the powers which are to be transmitted to the Duke of Vicence and the Count of Narbonne, for the negotiations of the peace.—The Duke of Vicence having provisionally united his office of Grand Equerry to that of Grand Marshal of the Palace, the arrangements which must be made previous to his setting out, require that he should still remain here; his departure will not, however, be long deferred.—Accept, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

NO. XXVI.—Copy of a Letter from Count de Metternich to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Prague, July 16, 1813.

Desirous of accelerating by every means in our power, the most speedy meeting of the Negotiators at Prague, I hasten to request your Excellency to lay before his Majesty the Emperor of the French the official declarations of the 29th June (11th July), and 11th of this present July, which I have just received by a Courier dispatched from Trachenberg, which bring on the part of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, through the medium of his Excellency the Secretary of State, Count Nesselrode, and on the part of his Majesty the King of Prussia, by his Excellency the Chancellor Baron de Hardenberg, the most formal acceptance of the prolongation of the armistice till the 10th August next. The pre-

vious declaration which Lieutenant-General Count de Bubna was charged to transmit on this subject to your Excellency, therefore receives by the official Note which I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency on the 12th instant, as well as by the present communication, the most authentic confirmation of the entire execution, according to both its sense and letters of the engagements entered into by us, agreeably to the 4th Article of the Convention of the 30th June last.—I beg your Excellency to accept, &c.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Letter from the Count de Nesselrode to the Count de Stadion.

Trachenberg, June 29, (July 11), 1813.

On my return from Ratiborsitz, I did not fail to submit to his Majesty the Emperor the proposal which your Excellency was charged to make to us relative to the prolongation of the armistice to the 10th August.—Faithful to his engagements, of not coming to any determination on subjects of such great importance, without having first consulted on them with his allies, his Imperial Majesty deferred replying to them, as he was about to have an interview with the Prince Royal of Sweden, which was fixed for the 9th of this month. His Royal Highness arrived the day before yesterday at Trachenberg. His Imperial Majesty has had the satisfaction of finding the dispositions of that Prince entirely coinciding with his own, with regard to Austria.—In consequence the two allied Courts have determined, with his concurrence, to give his Majesty the Emperor of the French a fresh proof of amity and confidence, by prolonging, even to the detriment of their military interests, the Armistice, till the 10th August. M. M. d'Anstedt and de Humbolt will this day receive orders to regulate every thing relative to this prolongation, under the mediation of your Court.—I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Count de Nesselrode.

Letter from Baron de Hardenberg to Count de Stadion.

Trachenberg, July 21, 1813.

On my return from Ratiborsitz, I lost no time in laying before the King, my Master, the proposals, which your Excellency has been charged to make to us concerning the prolongation of the Armistice until the 10th August. His Majesty deferred replying thereto till he had conferred

on them with his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, with whom he was to have an interview at Trachenberg on the 9th, and with the English Ministers.—In concert with the two allied Courts, he is happy in giving his Majesty the Emperor of Austria a new proof of friendship and confidence, in prolonging the Armistice till the 10th August, of which M. de Humbolt will in consequence be informed.—I beg your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) HARDENBERG.

No. XXVII.—*Copy of a Letter from the French Commissioners at Neumarkt, to the Russian and Prussian Commissioners.*

Neumarkt, July 11, 1813, half after two in the morning.

Gentlemen,—We have the honour to inform you, that his Highness the Prince Vice-Chancellor and Major-General informs us, that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria having offered his mediation, and the opening of the negotiations at Prague on the 12th inst. and the prolongation of the armistice until the 10th August, in order that there may be an interval of forty days between the commencement of the negotiations and their conclusion; his Majesty the Emperor and King has acceded to this proposal. We are therefore authorized, Gentlemen, to propose that a Convention shall be signed between you and us, relative to the prolongation of the armistice till the 10th August.—Accept, Gentlemen, &c.

(Signed) FLAHAULT DE MOUSTIER.

No. XXVIII.—*Copy of the Answer of M. M. the Commissioners, Counts de Schouwaloff and Krusemark, to the Letter of the French Commissioners.*

Neumarkt, July 11, 1813.

Gentlemen,—We received the letter which you did us the honour of addressing to us this day, at two o'clock in the afternoon. Not having any orders or authorization whatever relative to the important object of which you give us information, we must confine ourselves to assuring you, that we shall hasten, without loss of time, to transmit your letter to his Excellency the General in Chief.—Accept, &c. &c.

(Signed) The Counts SCHOUWALOFF and KRUSEMARK.

No. XXIX.—*Extract of a Letter from Messrs. the Generals du Moustier and Flahault, to his Highness the Prince Vice-Constable and Major-General.*

Neumarkt, July 17.

Monseigneur,—We have the honour of

transmitting you the copy of a letter which the General in Chief of the Combined Armies has written to the Russian and Prussian Generals. Your Highness will thereby perceive that the General in Chief does not admit of the prolongation of the armistice until the 10th August.—Accept, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) DE MOUSTIER,
Gen. FLAHAULT.

Extract from the Answer of the General in Chief of the Combined Armies, to the Russian and Prussian Commissioners.

Reichenbach, 4th (16th) July.

Gentlemen,—I had the honour of receiving your letter, bearing date the 3d (15th) of this month, as well as the *projet* of a Convention which was thereto annexed.

—I see that two difficulties will prevent the conclusion of the latter.—The first is that concerning the day on which hostilities should recommence. Having received very positive orders on this head from the Emperor, previous to his departure from the army, I cannot exactly conform myself to the proposal.—We cannot consent to enlarge the term to the 10th August (new style) for recommencing hostilities, if the preliminaries of peace should not be signed by that time. The two modes of settling what relates to that point, are, either to stipulate as is pointed out in Art. 1. of your *projet*, that no mention shall be made of a denunciation, or to add that it shall be necessary to denounce the armistice on the 4th of Aug. (N. S.), to be able to recommence hostilities on the 11th Aug. (N. S.); that is to say; on the moment after midnight, between the 10th and 11th, the armistice shall have ceased, and it shall be allowable again to act hostilely. I am able to make no change in this, if it were my wish; in consequence it is useless to revert any more to this point.—The second difficulty concerns the officers to be sent to places occupied by French troops, &c. &c.

(Signed) The General in Chief, BARCLAY DE TOLLEY.

No. XXX.—*Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners Dumoustier and Flahault, to his Serene Highness the Prince Major-General.*

Neumarkt, July 26.

Monseigneur,—We have the honour to transmit you the supplementary treaty relative to the prolongation of the armistice to the 10th August.—Accept, &c.

(Signed) The Generals Commissioners,
DUMOUSTIER and de FLAHAULT.

[Here follows the supplementary treaty, which has already appeared.]

No. XXXI.—*Copy of a Letter from Count Metternich to the Duke of Bassano.*

Prague, July 22, 1813.

M. le Duc,—Count de Narbonne has committed to me the dispatch which your Excellency addressed to him on the 19th inst. as well as the documents annexed to it, concerning the discussions which have taken place at Neumarkt, relative to the armistice.—I have given an account to the Emperor of the new delay the arrival of the Duke of Vicence has experienced. It is by express orders from his Majesty that I write directly to your Excellency, to beg you to convey to the knowledge of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, the painful impression which this delay has produced upon him.—The Emperor, in addressing the offer of his mediation to the Belligerent Powers, was not alone influenced by the desire of peace; he was equally impelled to it by the necessity of causing, as soon as possible, those expenses to cease, which frequently, even more than war itself, bear upon nations, during that intermediary state, which is neither war nor peace.—His Imperial Majesty did not demand the prolongation of the armistice of Pleiswitz. He, however, did not hesitate to employ his good offices to induce the allied Powers to admit an additional term of 20 days to be added to the presumed term of the negotiations, which, considering the distance of the respective headquarters, and the conferences necessary to make these same Powers agree to the prolongation of the armistice, could scarcely be opened before the 12th July.—The engagement which, by Article 4 of the Convention of the 30th of June last, his Majesty the Emperor of the French took to the mediating Power, not to denounce, previous to the 10th August, the existing armistice, was transmitted by us to the allied Powers. Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, acceded to the proposal of Austria, and we did not delay conveying to his Majesty the Emperor of the French the official information of their formal engagement on this subject. What could remain to be wished by the Belligerent Powers to enter into a negotiation at Prague? By what other more legal means could the engagement of France and the counter-engagement of the Allies not to denounce the armistice before the 10th Aug. have been rendered obliga-

tory on one side or the other? What further assurance could France have expected regarding the determination of allied Powers? What more certain guarantee could she, in fine, have received, of an entire and perfectly reciprocal sincerity up to the time stipulated? Orders were, however, expedited to the French headquarters, to the Commissioners at Neumarkt. A new discussion took place in this manner, by the side of the most formal guarantees. This fact was somewhat surprising, but we were far from suspecting it would occasion delays the most important to the cause of peace. Now foresee the possibility that the Plenipotentiaries of the mediating Power, and those of the allied Powers, assembled at Prague on the 12th July, the day agreed upon for the arrival of Plenipotentiaries from both parties, should be still there. On the 22d of the month, not only without the French Plenipotentiary being there, but even in the most complete uncertainty respecting the time of his arrival.—An official note, which Baron d'Austell has just addressed to me, leaves me in no doubt, that at Neumarkt the differences which had arisen between the Commissioners will be settled there. Ten precious days have not, however, been the less lost to the negotiations at Prague; they cannot be laid either to the charge of the mediating Power, which has fulfilled to the utmost extent the engagements which she had contracted with France, or the Allies, who in diplomatic forms have accepted the prolongation of the armistice, and whose negotiators arrived here on the day agreed upon.—The meeting of the respective Plenipotentiaries had, no doubt, been sufficient not to leave discussions to be entered into elsewhere upon questions before determined between the Cabinets.—It remains for me to request your Excellency to be so good as to let me know, as soon as possible, the time when the French Plenipotentiaries will repair hither, his Imperial Majesty, earnestly desiring that no new incidents may be assigned as a reason for a loss of time, which is irreparable.—I pray, &c.
(Signed) METTERNICH.

No. XXXII.—*Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Bassano to Count Metternich.*

General de Bubna has just transmitted to me your Excellency's letter, dated 22d of this month. Having on the same day sent M. de Narbonne his powers and instructions, I had beforehand satisfied the request which you made to me in that letter. It is there-

fore without object, and I have not had occasion to lay it before his Majesty. — With regard to the details, into which you have thought proper to enter, I shall confine my reply to reminding you of the facts of the notice hereto annexed.* — I have the honour to offer you, &c.

(Signed) The DUKE DE BASSANO.
Dresden, July 24, in the evening.

[* To this letter is annexed references to various notes, letters, and dispatches, according to their dates, which have been given at length in the course of this correspondence.]

Note from Count de Metternich to the Plenipotentiaries of France.

The undersigned Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, desiring to see the negotiations which should conduce to the pacification of the Belligerent Powers, opened with as little delay as possible, between this time and the near approaching term of the armistice, has the honour of addressing himself to their Excellencies Messrs. the Duke de Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne, Plenipotentiaries from his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, by inviting them to concert with him on the mode to be adopted for the negotiation; only two present themselves; that of conferences, or that of transactions by writing. — The first, where the Negotiators, by assembling in regular sitting, retard the conclusion long beyond the necessary time, by the embarrassment of etiquette, by the delay inseparable to verbal discussions, by the drawing up, and comparing of the *procès verbaux*, and other difficulties; the other, that which was followed at the Congress of Teschen, according to which each of the Belligerent Courts addressed its *projets* and proposals, in form of Notes, to the mediating Power, who communicated them to the adverse Power, and in the same manner and form, transmitted the replies to such *projets* and proposals, by which all these inconveniences were avoided. The annexed copy in extract will shew their Excellencies, the Duke de Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne, the method which was observed on that occasion. — Without prejudging the instructions which their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of France may have received on this subject, to which Austria has already drawn the attention of that Court, the undersigned has the honour, on his part, to propose this method, for the double motive

of the advantage above described, and the brevity of the time fixed for the duration of the negotiations. The mediating Court finds itself more especially inclined to prefer this abridged method, from the consideration that the two high Powers now actually in negotiation are the same whose Plenipotentiaries met at the Congress of Teschen, and she flatters herself that she sees in the happy issue of the transactions at that time, the pledge of a satisfactory result from the present. — The undersigned eagerly embraces this first opportunity of offering to their Excellencies the Duke of Vicenza and Count de Narbonne the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) The Count de METTERNICH.
To their Excellencies the Duke of Vicenza and Count de Narbonne, Plenipotentiaries of France.

Prague, July 29, 1813.

Forms observed in the Negotiations of Peace at the Congress of Teschen, in 1779.

The instructions of the Plenipotentiaries of the Belligerent Powers, as known to the mediating Ministers, directed to treat for peace, without any apparatus of Congress, without any formality or etiquette whatever, and solely to abide by the ordinary proceedings and usages of society. — At the moment of the meeting, the Envoys legitimated themselves with the Mediator, and the Mediator's Minister legitimated himself to them. The Plenipotentiaries of the Belligerent Powers from that time addressed their *projets* of peace to the Mediator, and through his intervention received the answers. — The Plenipotentiaries did not, during the whole duration of the Congress, hold a single general conference, but they nevertheless met every day among themselves. It was not till the day of signing the treaty of peace, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Belligerent Powers assembled, for the first and last time, in a general sitting, with the Mediators, to exchange their respective full powers, with the signed treaties.

No. XXXIV. — *Note from Count de Metternich to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The undersigned, Minister of State, and for Foreign Affairs, to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, Plenipotentiary from the mediating Court, has received the reply which their Excellencies the Duke de Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne, Plenipotentiaries from his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, have

transmitted, to the Note which he had the honour of addressing to them on the 29th, inviting them to concert with him on the mode to be adopted for the negotiations.

—He has transmitted this reply to the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Prussia, and he has the honour to send annexed the copy of that of those Plenipotentiaries to their Excellencies the Duke de Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne.—The undersigned requests the delay which will result to the progress of the negotiation from the obligation which their Excellencies have thought they were under to submit to their Courts a matter of form, on which he had hoped they would themselves have been able to decide, in course of the anterior conferences in like manner with Messrs. the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Prussia.

—It being always essential to lose no time remaining for the negotiation, after the arrival of the orders which their Excellencies expect from their Courts, and to be able, immediately after, to proceed on business, the undersigned has the honour to invite them in the interval to proceed to the exchanging of their full powers, and to inform them that he shall address the same invitation to the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Prussia.—He hastens on this occasion to offer to their Excellencies the Duke of Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne the renewed assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) The Count de METTERNICH.
Prague, July 31, 1813.

[Here follow two Notes, one from M. d'Anstett, the other from M. de Humbolt, to Count de Metternich, accepting the method of carrying on the conferences by writing, as the best adapted for saving time and conducting the negotiations to a happy termination.]

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to the Count de Metternich.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries from his Majesty the Emperor and King have the honour to reply to the Notes which have been transmitted to the Count de Metternich, Minister of State and of Foreign Affairs of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, Plenipotentiary of the mediating Power.

—The Convention of the 30th June, by which France accepted the mediation of Austria, was signed after the two following points had been agreed upon:—1. That the Mediator would be impartial; that he had not, nor would not, conclude any Convention, even eventual, with a Belligerent

Power, during the whole time the negotiation should last.—2. That the Mediator did not present himself as an Arbitrator, but as a Conciliator, to arrange differences and reconcile parties.—The form of the negotiations was, at the same time, the object of an explanation between Count de Bubna and the Duke of Bassano. It was thought right to understand each other beforehand on this subject, because, from the negotiation of the armistice of the 4th June, Russia had shewn her intentions, and given it to be understood that she wished to open negotiations, not with the object of peace, but with the view of compromising Austria, and extending the misfortunes of war. The form of conferences was fixed.—The undersigned cannot but express their astonishment and their regret, that although they have for some days been at Prague, they have not yet seen the Russian and Prussian Ministers, and that the conferences have not even been opened by the exchange of the respective powers, and in fact that time so precious has been employed to discuss ideas equally unexpected as incompatible with the assembling of a Congress, as they tend to establish that the Plenipotentiaries must negotiate without knowing each other, without seeing each other, and without speaking to each other.—The question proposed by the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator, in his note of the 29th July, when he invited the undersigned to concert with him upon the mode to be adopted for the negotiation, whether that by conferences or writing, was previously determined by explanations which accompanied the Convention of the 30th June.—However willing, as far as depends on them, to remove all difficulties and conciliate pretensions, even the least founded, the undersigned propose to the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator, to exclude neither modes of negotiations, and to adopt them both conjointly. For this purpose they would treat in regular conferences, which should take place once or twice a day, either by notes transmitted while sitting, or by verbal communications, which should or should not be inserted in the *Protocole*, according to the demand or requisition of the respective Plenipotentiaries. By this means, the usage of all times would be followed, and if the Russian Plenipotentiary persisted in wishing to negotiate for peace without speaking, he would be at liberty to do so, and could by notes make known the intentions of his Court.—The undersigned flatter themselves their proposal will conciliate all parties, and that the

opening of the conferences will be no longer delayed.

(Signed) CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.

L. NARBONNE.

Prague, Aug. 6, 1813.

Note from M. de Metternich to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The undersigned Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs of his Imperial Majesty and Apostolic King, Plenipotentiary from the mediating Power, immediately upon the reception of the note which their Excellencies the Duke of Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne, Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, did him the honour of addressing to him on the 6th of this month, made a communication of that document to the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Prussia. He has just received from them their replies, bearing date the 7th, of which he has likewise the honour herewith to subjoin a copy for the information of their Excellencies the French Plenipotentiaries. The undersigned hastens to renew to their Excellencies the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) The Count de METTERNICH.

Prague, Aug. 8, 1813.

Note from M. d'Anstett to his Excellency Count de Metternich.

The undersigned has received with the note of yesterday the copy of the document transmitted by the French Plenipotentiaries to the mediatory Plenipotentiary, of which he wished to give him communication, conformable to the impartial and open procedure which he has constantly followed. There is a dignity in affairs, and in the discussion of great interests, from which it is not permitted to depart, whatever might be the provocation.—Russia knows what she owes to herself, and the undersigned will not here dwell upon either the false assertions, or the form of the French paper, each paragraph of which is either an accusation against the mediating Power, or an insult to Russia, a contradiction, or a subterfuge. Nevertheless Europe ought to know from whence the obstacles proceeded which have prevented the accomplishment of so salutary a work as that which should have taken place at Prague. It is on this point exclusively that the undersigned demands the

publication of facts—a publication which equally interests the dignity of mediation, which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias accepted in such a frank and positive manner. With regard to the accusation, that Russia merely sought by the negotiations to compromise Austria, no persons can know better than the Minister of his Imperial and Royal Austrian Majesty, by whom the armistice was proposed, and how it was accepted, so that it is scarcely possible to say whom the insult affects the nearest; whether a wise, puissant, and enlightened Court, which was not aware of such a stratagem, or Russia, which has proved by facts, since her armies passed the Vistula and the Oder, that she demands no more than to offer her hand to a reasonable and solid peace, and to agree to any arrangement which should have for its result the happiness and tranquillity of nations. Austria had prepared the elements for it, by charging herself with the mediation; but it appears it was not the intention of his Majesty the Emperor of the French to permit their development. These truths stand in no need of demonstration, and the undersigned confines himself to repeat officially to his Excellency the Mediator's Plenipotentiary what has already formed the subject of his preceding official Notes; that being convinced that a mode of negotiation which is strictly conformable, whatever the French Plenipotentiaries may say to what was done at the peace of Teschen, and having solemnly accepted it, he persists in it.—He will ask, at the same time, and to destroy, by a single remark, the vain and sophistical verbosity of the French Note, which is the party that wished for peace, and which is the party that did not wish for it?—The undersigned has been at Prague since the 22d July, and has doubly legitimated himself on his powers, and it was on the 6th August, that is to say, four days before the final term, that the French Plenipotentiaries opened the active negotiations to establish contradictory forms by themselves, in order, in fact, to lose sight of the grand object which appeared to have brought them to Prague.—The undersigned has had no other view in this present Note, than to expose to the mediating Power the manner in which he consi-

(To be continued.)

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TABLES.

PRICE OF BULLION per Ounce, in the London Market, during the Six Months ending 31st Dec. 1813, being the average price of each Month.—N.B. Where there is no price mentioned, there has been none of that sort of Bullion in the Market.

Sorts of Bullion.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Portugal Gold Coin	5 5 0	5 7 0	5 9 0	5 9 6	5 9 10	5 12 0
Standard Gold in Bars	5 4 0	5 9 4	5 8 0	5 9 11	5 10 0	5 10 0
New Doubloons	5 7 0	0 0 0	5 10 6	5 10 0	5 10 6	5 11 0
New Dollars	0 6 9	0 7 0	0 6 11	0 6 11	0 7 0	0 7 0
Standard Silver in Bars	0 0 0	0 7 2	0 6 11	0 7 0	0 0 0	0 7 1

N. B. The MINT PRICE, per Ounce, of the Standard Gold and Silver Bullion is as follows: Standard Gold in Bars, £.3 17s. 10d. Standard Silver in Bars; 5s. 2d. The other sorts of Bullion, except the Portugal Gold Coin, are below Standard Value. The Prices in the above table is the Market Price in Bank of England Notes.

Number of BANKRUPTCIES as announced in the London Gazette; from 17th May, 1813, to 14th December, 1813.

To 18 June, 1813	133
— 17 July	131
— 17 August	113
— 17 September	55
— 16 October	53
— 16 November	116
— 14 December	145
	746

Table of the Prices of MEAT, SUGAR, SALT, and COALS, in LONDON, from July to December, 1813, inclusive.

	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Beef	6 4	6 4	6 0	5 8	6 4	7 0	Per Stone of 8 lb., to sink the official.
Mutton	6 8	6 8	6 4	6 8	6 8	7 6	
Pork	7 8	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 4	8 8	
Sugar	55 7	54 2½	59 11¼	59 4½	62 9½	76 11	Cwt.
Salt	20 0	20 0	20 0	20 0	20 0	20 0	Bushel
Coals	53 6	56 0	56 0	60 0	64 9	62 0	Chald.

Price of the QUARTERN LOAF, according to the Assize of Bread in LONDON, for the Six Months ending with Dec. 1813, taking the average of the four Assizes in each Month.—N.B. The Weight of the Loaf, according to Law, is 4lb. 5oz. 8dr.

	s. d.
July	1 6½
August	1 6½
September	1 4½
October	1 2½
November	1 1½
December	0 11¼

Average Price during the Six Months 1 3½

Prices of the ENGLISH FUNDS, or STOCKS, as shown from the Prices here given of the Three per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, for the Six Months, ending with Dec. 1813.—N.B. The Prices here given are the average Prices for each Month.

July	56½
August	57½
September	58½
October	58½
November	59½
December	61½

Number of CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS within the Bills of Mortality, from 22d June 1813, to 28th Dec. 1813.

Months.	Christenings.		Burials.	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
To July 27	1098	1035	724	672
— Aug. 24	877	869	625	573
— Sept. 21	782	717	533	551
— Oct. 26	681	653	559	475
— Nov. 23	836	702	682	661
— Dec. 28	970	908	1271	1135
	5,244	4,884	4,394	4,067
Total Christenings 10; 128.	8,461			
Children under two years of age	2,657			
Total Burials	11,118			

Average Prices of CORN, through all England and Wales, and of HAY, STRAW, and best FARNHAM HOPS, in London, from July to December, 1813, both Months inclusive.

Corn per Quarter of 8 Winchester Bushels.					Hay per Load.	Straw per Load.	Hops per Cwt.
Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.			
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
81 6	60 4	51 9	35 2	67 10	4 13 2	1 16 2	17 3 4

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS,

1813.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Lord Harrowby	- - - - -	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	- - - - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland	- - - - -	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Bathurst	- - - - -	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool	- - - - -	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)
Right Hon. N. Vansittart	- - - - -	{ Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Ex- chequer.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst	- - - - -	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Viscount Melville	- - - - -	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave	- - - - -	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Sidmouth	- - - - -	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Castlereagh	- - - - -	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Bathurst	- - - - -	{ Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Lord Buckinghamshire	- - - - -	{ President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose	- - - - -	{ Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston	- - - - -	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. C. Long	- - - - -	{ Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Right Hon. Fred. John Robinson	- - - - -	{ Joint Postmaster-General.
Earl of Chichester	- - - - -	{ Secretaries of the Treasury.
Earl of Sandwich	- - - - -	{ Master of the Rolls.
Richard Wharton	- - - - -	{ Attorney-General.
Robert Peel	- - - - -	{ Solicitor-General.
Sir William Grant	- - - - -	
Sir W. Garrow	- - - - -	

PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Viscount Whitworth	- - - - -	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	- - - - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald	- - - - -	{ Chief Secretary, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.



